

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 5961

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IN, US

SUBJ: IN WHICH WE SEND THEM A MESSAGE

1) ON MAY FIRST THE EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE NATIONAL HERALD,
"FOUNDED BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU" CARRIED A LONG ARTICLE ON THIS
AMBASSADOR AND INDO-US RELATIONS UP WITH WHICH I WAS NOT ABOUT
TO PUT. THE ARTICLE WAS INSULTING TO MY WIFE, LIBELOUS OF ME,
RUDE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND POISONOUS ABOUT THE UNITED
STATES. IT WAS WRITTEN BY ONE USHA MAHAJANI, A REGULAR CONTRIBUTOR.
THIS CHARMING LADY, DAUGHTER OF A DISTINGUISHED FAMILY, FATHER
VICE CHANCELLOR OF POONA UNIVERSITY, IS PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL
SCIENCE AT CENTRAL WASHINGTON STATE COLLEGE IN ELLENSBURG,
WASHINGTON, WHERE SHE RESIDES AS A RESIDENT ALIEN. HAVING
DIVORCED HER FIRST HUSBAND, A CHINESE LANGUAGE EXPERT IN THE
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INDIAN FOREIGN SERVICE, SHE REMARRIED AND BROUGHT HER SECOND

HUSBAND TO THE UNITED STATES WHERE HE ALSO TEACHES. TOGETHER I FIGURE THEY DRAW DOWN MAYBE FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND RUPEES A YEAR IN TAX MONEY, PLUS A LITTLE ON THE SIDE FOR SPEWING HER HATE AND LOATHING FOR FASCIST RACIST AMERICA ALL OVER THE NEHRU FAMILY NEWSPAPER.

2) THIS IS THE SAME JOURNAL WHOSE ANONYMOUS ATTACK LAST MARCH FIVE ON MY ONE AND ONLY SPEECH TO DATE ON INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS PRODUCED A LARGE STORY IN THE NEW YORK TIMES WITH PERHAPS UNFORTUNATE CONSEQUENCES IN WASHINGTON. THE ONLY REPORTER IN TOWN ON WEDNESDAY WAS LEON DANIEL OF THE UPI. HE CAME ROUND IMMEDIATELY AND I SPOKE PRETTY HARSHLY FOR THE RECORD. I THEN SENT COPIES AROUND SOUTH BLOCK. ON THURSDAY I MET WITH THE FINANCE SECRETARY AND THE JOINT SECRETARY FOR THE AMERICAN OF THE MEA TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF DISCUSSING THE POSSIBILITY OF THE RESUMPTION OF AID. HALF WAY THROUGH THE MEETING THE FINANCE SECRETARY ASKED ME WHAT CHANCE THERE WAS OF OUR NEW AID REGULATIONS PROVING FLEXIBLE. HE HAD ARRIVED LATE FOR THE MEETING. I HAD MADE CLEAR I WAS UNHAPPY. I NOW MADE IT PERFECTLY CLEAR. I SAID THEY HAD THE SAME BLOODY CHANCE THAT EXISTED OF GETTING AID IN THE FIRST PLACE, NAMELY IF I GO BACK TO WASHINGTON WHEELDE, WHINE, CAJOLE, THREATEN TO HAVE TANTRUMS, AND GENERALLY MAKE IT WORTH PEOPLE'S WHILE TO DO ANYTHING TO MAKE ME GO AWAY. I HAD GONE TO WASHINGTON TO GET THE AID PACKAGE IN FEBRUARY, FOLLOWING PRETTY MUCH THIS TATIC, BUT HAD I ANY NOTION THAT WITHIN WEEKS OF RETURNING MY WIFE WOULD BE INSULTED IN THE PUBLIC PRESS OF INDIA I WOULD NEVER HAVE GONE, I WOULD INSTEAD HAVE PACKED AND LEFT FOR GOOD. I HAD SENT MY WIFE TO PARIS WHERE I WAS SCHEDULED TO ADDRESS A BUSINESSMAN'S GROUP ON INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN INDIA. I WAS GOING MYSELF TO PARIS THIS SUNDAY. I HAD NOT YET DECIDED WHETHER I WOULD COME BACK TO DELHI. AS FOR FLEXIBILITY WITH AID, THEY COULD TAKE IT UP WITH MY SUCCESSOR IF AN WHEN HE IS APPOINTED.

3) ON FRIDAY THE FOREIGN MINISTER ASKED TO SEE ME ON SATURDAY. THE FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLED TO ASK IF MY WIFE AND I COULD COME TO DINNER WITH HIM AND THE FINANCE SECRETARY, THE SECRETARY TO THE PRIME MINISTER AND THEIR WIVES. HE WAS MUCH SURPRISED TO LEARN I WAS LEAVING TOWN.

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4) WHEN I ARRIVED TO SEE THE FOREIGN MINISTER SATURDAY MORNING HE HAD LEFT FOR AN EMERGENCY CABINET MEETING. (THE THREATENED RAILWAY STRIKE.) THE FOREIGN SECRETARY MET ME INSTEAD. BEING A THOROUGHLY DECENT MAN, HE COULD NOT HAVE BEEN KINDER. HE EXPLAINED THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT CONTROL THE NATIONAL HERALD, BUT THAT WHAT THEY HAD PRINTED, ESPECIALLY ABOUT MY WIFE, WAS INTOLERABLE. HE HAD TALKED TO A POWERFUL PERSON IN THE GOVERNMENT AND MADE CLEAR THAT IF THE NEWSPAPER WAS TO CARRY NEHRU'S

NAME CERTAIN THINGS HAD TO FOLLOW. (I ASKED HIM ABOUT THE PRIME MINISTER'S TRIP TO IRAN. HE SAID IT WAS MOST SUCCESSFUL. THE PERSIANS HAD SAID THEY HAD NO INTENTION OF ARMING THE PAKISTANIS, THE INDIAN HAD SAID THEY WOULD IN NO CIRCUMSTANCES INTERFERE IN BALUCHISTAN AND PUSHITOONISTAN. THEY ENTERED THREE AGREEMENTS. THE PERSIANS WILL LEND THEM OF SOFT TERMS SOME \$500 MILLION TO GET AN IRON PELLETIZATION BUSINESS GOING, AND SOME \$120 FOR AN ALUMINA COMPLEX. THEY WILL START A JOINT SHIPPING COMPANY, WHICH THESE EXPORTS WILL REQUIRE.)

5) IN THE AFTERNOON SWARAN SINGH SAW ME FOR AN HOUR AND A QUARTER. HE WAS MUCH DISTRESSED BY THE NATIONAL HERALD ARTICLE. IN THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THESE TWO MEETINGS I HAD RECEIVED THE UPI STORY ABOUT THE ESPISODE. IT DESCRIBED THE NATIONAL HERALD AS "A NEWSPAPER GENERALLY CONSIDERED TO REFLECT THE OFFICIAL VIEW OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA". I GAVE THIS TO HIM, POINTING OUT A FURTHER PARAGRAPH: "MOYNIHAN SAID, HOWEVER, THE HE DID NOT CONSIDER THAT THE ARTICLE IN ANY WAY REFLECTED THE OFFICIAL VIEW OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND REITERATED HIS OFTEN-EXPRESSED OPINION THAT INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS ARE ON THE UPSWING". HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THAT. I SAID I WAS STILL SO GODDAMN MAD I HADN'T DECIDED WHAT TO DO. HE SAID HE WAS ESPECIALLY CONCERNED THAT MRS. MOYNIHAN HAD BEEN INSULTED. DIKSHITJI HAD ONCE HAD SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE PAPER, BUT, ETC. ETC. THE PATRIOT WAS OPPOSED TO THE UNITED STATES AND TO HIM, BUT ITS ARTICLES WERE NOT OFFENSIVE IN THE WAY THE HERALD ARTICLE HAD BEEN, I SAID I DID NOT GIVE A BLOODY DAMN WHAT ANY COMMUNIST PAPER SAID, ALTHOUGH I AGREED THAT PATRIOT MAINTAINED CERTAIN STANDARDS. I WAS TALKING ABOUT A PAPER WITH NEHRU'S NAME ON THE MASTHEAD.

6) HE THEN DESCRIBED THE DIFFICULTIES INDIA HAS WITH THE AMERICAN PRESS. BERNARD WEINRAUB'S ARTICLE SAYING INDIA WAS GOING CONFIDENTIAL

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DOWN THE DRAIN APPEARED WHEN HE WAS IN NEW YORK. IT CAUSED GREAT DISTRESS, PARTICULARLY FOLLOWING THE GOOD RECEPTION OF THE TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. AFRO-ASIAN REPRESENTATIVES COULD NOT UNDERSTAND IT. HE HAD MADE NO SPEECHES UP TO THAT POINT, AS HE WAS TRYING TO AVOID CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND UNDERVELOPED NATIONS. BUT THE TIMES ARTICLE SET BACK HIS EFFORTS. HE ASKED: "CAN WE ON BOTH SIDES INTRODUCE CORRECTIVE MEASURES, SO OUR TRUE VOICE CAN BE HEARD". HE APPRECIATED MY STATEMENT THAT THE HERALD WAS NOT AN OFFICIAL VOICE. HE SAID: "WE ARE WORRIED ABOUT THE ATTITUDE OF THE CPI (COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA) IN THE RAIL STRIKE. THEY ARE WITH THE CPM (COMMUNIST PARTY MARXIST) IT IS AMAZING THAT THEY SHOULD BE CARRYING ON AS THEY ARE IN THESE MATTERS. THEY OPPOSE THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, WITH PAKISTAN, WITH IRAN". HE STATED THAT EVERYONE KNOWS THAT

IN A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM SITUATIONS SUCH AS HE AND I WERE TALKING ABOUT ARE DIFFICULT TO HANDLE. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE HOSTILITY OF THE AMERICAN PRESS TO PRESIDENT NIXON WAS NOT REFLECTED IN THE INDIAN PRESS, HE WONDERED IF MS MAHAJANI HAD NOT PICKED UP AMERICAN ATTITUDES. HE WAS DESOLATE ABOUT THE STATEMENTS CONCERNING MRS. MOYNIHAN.

7) THEY ARE FEELING DESPERATE, AND WITH REASON. THEY WANT OUR RELATIONS TO CONTINUE TO IMPROVE. HE AGREED IT WAS RIDICULOUS TO HAVE AMBASSADOR KAUL ROAMING THE CORRIDORS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE ASKING FOR MORE AID WHILST SOUTH BLOCK TOOK ITS TIME ABOUT EVEN CONSIDERING THE POSSIBILITY. HE OBVIOUSLY ADMIRES AND LIKES THE SECRETARY, AND WAS MUCH TOUCHED AT BEING INTRODUCED TO HIS PARENTS AT THE UNITED NATIONS. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION, HE SAID THE UN SPECIAL SESSION HAD BEEN A WASTE OF TIME AS SUCH BUT HE HAD DONE BUSINESS WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CLUB. HE HAD NEVER EXPECTED ANYTHING FROM THE UN, AND HAD MADE HIS DEALS WITH IRAQ AND IRAN, WITH ONLY SAUDI ARABIA AS A MAJOR OIL SUPPLIER STILL TO COME INTO SOME NEW ARRANGEMENT. IN ANY EVENT THEY DON'T WANT THINGS TO GO WRONG BEFORE THE SECRETARY'S VISIT.

8) FOR THE RECORD, I TRIED TO MAKE A JOKE AS I LEFT. MINISTER, I SAID, IT SEEMS TO ME AN AMERICAN COULD MORE READILY BE FORGIVEN FOR THINKING THE NATIONAL HERALD WAS CONTROLLED BY THE GANDHI ADMINISTRATION THAN AN INDIAN COULD BE FORGIVEN FOR THINKING

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THE NEW YORK TIMES WAS CONTROLLED BY THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION. HE DIDN'T GET IT, WANTED TO TALK SOME MORE, I BEGGED TO POINT OUT THAT THERE WERE TOO MANY OTHER THINGS HE HAD TO DO THAT AFTERNOON.

9) THIS HAS BEEN A LONG CABLE TO MAKE A SIMPLE POINT. WHEN I CAME OUT HERE I WAS OF THE VIEW THAT INDIA WOULD BEGIN TO FALL APART IN THE MID-1980S, BUT THAT A STEADY MATURING OF RELATIONS WITH US WOULD HAVE BROUGHT THINGS TO THE POINT BY THEN THAT IF THEY TURNED TO US FOR HELP IT WOULD BE IN CIRCUMSTANCES OF SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL SECURITY AND WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT HELP FROM US WOULD REASONABLY ENTAIL HELP IN RETURN. THE OIL CRISIS AND OTHER EVENTS SEEM TO HAVE BROUGHT THE 1980S INTO THE 1970S. THEY ARE NOT PREPARED TO DEAL WITH US ON THE BASIS I HAD HOPED FOR. NOR ARE WE. NO MATTER HOW MUCH THEY KNOW THEY NEED US, PART OF THEM KNOWS THAT PRESIDENT TRUMAN DID NOT DO THE RIGHT THING

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